

Henri Tréziny (dir.)

**Greco and indigenous of the Catalonia to the Black Sea**  
**Acts of the meetings of the European Ramses<sup>2</sup>**  
**(2006-2008)**

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## 4. Controlling the chora. Archaeological investigations at Monte Palazzi, a mountain fort of Locri Epizephyrii

Paolo Visonà

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## 4. Controlling the chora.

### Archaeological investigations at Monte Palazzi, a mountain fort of Locri Epizephyrri

Paolo Visonà

Less than a decade ago E. Greco remarked that '[Y.] Garlan has shown very clearly that it is difficult to find masonry *phrouria* before the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Before this time, territorial defense is maintained by the *peripoloi*, which are mobile and do not leave many archaeological traces of their provisional installations'<sup>1</sup>. However, Garlan's conclusions had already been questioned (cf. Lauter 1992 ; Van de Maele 1992), and Thucydides used both the words *περιπόλιον* and *φρούριον* to describe the same Locrian fort on the Halex River which the Athenians attacked twice in 427-426 and 426-425 B.C. (Thucyd. 3.99 ; 3.115.7), suggesting that this must have been a permanent military installation (cf. Thucyd. 3.103)<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, a growing body of archaeological data indicates that the Greeks of southern Italy began to build masonry fort even before the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (cf. Cozzo Presepe 1983 ; Carter 2006, p. 116-117 ; Leone 1998, p. 16, 92-93, 125-126 ; Muggia 2000, p. 227-232). In southern Calabria, in particular, remains of three *φρούρια* which can be dated to the archaic period have recently been located at Serro di Tavola, San Salvatore, and Monte Palazzi (fig. 441). Because of their geomorphic setting and their comparable features, they may be described collectively as upland or mountain forts. Each fort lies in a commanding position near or within sight of the territorial boundaries of a Greek city and controlled an important communication or possible invasion route. Their size, structural characteristics, and strategic function, are also very similar. Thus, there are no compelling reasons to doubt that all of them were under Greek control (*pace* Greco 2005, p. 221), even though some evidence for contact or interaction with indigenous settlers is known from two of them<sup>3</sup>.

A granitic ridge rising at 1221,51 m above sea level less than 16 km inland from the eastern coast of Italy, and overlooking the Croceferrata Pass – a crossroads between the Ionian and Tyrrhenian seas – Monte Palazzi is naturally protected by steep slopes on three sides. The existence of archaeological ruins is the presumed origin of the mountain's modern name, which was used at least as early as 1714<sup>4</sup>. After the presence of a Greek settlement on its summit was reported in 1961 by E. Barillaro, a local scholar, S. Settis first proposed that the site be identified as a Locrian *φρούριον* (Knapp *et al.* 2007, p. 482-485, 509). Three exploratory campaigns conducted on the mountaintop by teams from the University of Colorado and (since 2007) the University of Kentucky have now confirmed Settis' identification. This essay highlights preliminary results of the 2005-2009 investigations, which aim to reconstruct the role of the fort on Monte Palazzi within the defensive system of the *χώρα* of Locri Epizephyrri<sup>5</sup>.

predominantly Greek materials. A single sherd of 'impasto' pottery has been found at Serro di Tavola, according to Brizzi (M.) and Costamagna (L.) (in this volume). The ceramic assemblages from the San Salvatore excavations include a mix of Greek and handmade, indigenous-type pottery from the same contexts, which has not yet been studied in detail (personal communication by prof. Lin Foxhall, University of Leicester). For Greek and indigenous relationships in northern and southern Calabria, cf. Attema (P.) – Conflict or Coexistence ? Remarks on Indigenous Settlement and Greek Colonization in the Foothills and Hinterland of the Sibaritide (Northern Calabria, Italy). In : Guldager Bilde (P.), Hjarl Petersen (J.) eds., *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region*, Aarhus, 2008, p. 67-69 ; Gras (M.) – Vie e itinerari del commercio. In : Pugliese Carratelli (G.) ed., *Magna Grecia II. Lo sviluppo politico, sociale ed economico*, Milano, 1987, p. 220 ; *Kaulonía II*, p. 327 ; Mercuri 2004, p. 279 and 292 ; Falcone 2009, p. 52-60, 73.

4 "Lo luogo dove si dice Il Palazzo" is mentioned in a 1714 description of the feudal boundaries of Grotteria according to Naymo (V.) – *Feudalità Società ed Economia nella Calabria del Settecento. L'apprezzo della contea di Grotteria (1707-1714)* [forthcoming]. I owe this reference to prof. Vincenzo Naymo (Università di Messina).

5 The excavations at Monte Palazzi in 2005-2008 were directed by p. Visonà of The Foundation for Calabrian Archaeology ([www.digcalabria.org/](http://www.digcalabria.org/)) under a permit from Italy's Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, with major funding from the Falkenberg Foundation of Denver (Colorado, U.S.A.). Lesley Chapman (Visual Resources Curator), Henry E. Francis (Kentucky Geological

1 Greco (E.) – discussion. In : *Atti Taranto* 40, 2001, p. 165. For a similar view cf. Whitehouse (R. D.), Wilkins (J. B.) – Greeks and natives in south-east Italy : approaches to the archaeological evidence. In : Champion (T. C.) ed., *Centre and Periphery. Comparative studies in archaeology*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 107-109.

2 Liddell (H. G.), Scott (R.) *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1958, p. 1384, define *περιπόλιον* as a 'guard-house, fort'. The fort mentioned by Thucydides may have been an outpost or a border post of the Locrian *περιπόλιον* (= 'watchmen' or 'patrolmen').

3 Both Serro di Tavola and Monte Palazzi have yielded

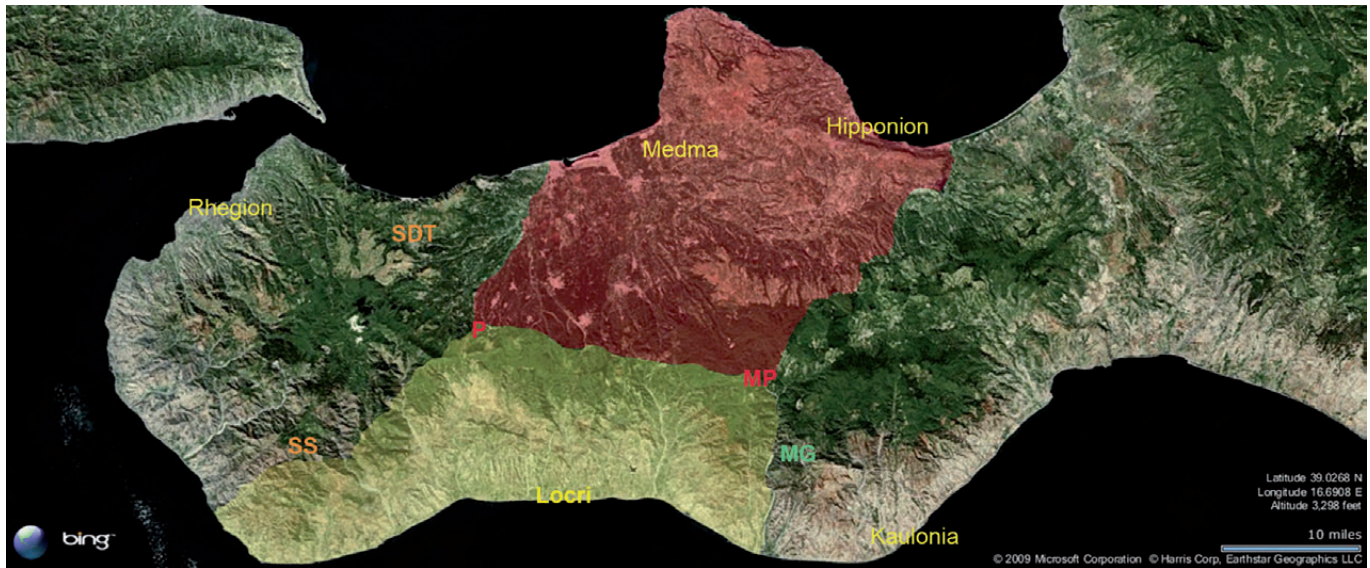


Fig. 441. Satellite map of southern Calabria. From north to south : MG = Monte Gallo ; MP = Monte Palazzi ; P = Palazzo ; SBT = Serro di Tavola ; SS = San Salvatore. The boundaries of Locri's *chora* (highlighted) follow the Allaro River and the Fiumara di Palizzi. Courtesy of Bing and Microsoft Corp.

Following a metal-detector survey of the mountaintop (a flattish quadrangular area extending c. 40 m. N-S by 50 m. E-W ; **fig. 442**), initial excavations were focused on the northeastern flank of the ridge, where a segment of the perimeter wall was uncovered. Double-faced and 2,3 – 2,5 m wide, with a rubble *emplekton* of dirt and small stones, this rampart was built directly upon bedrock. Its inner and outer faces consist of roughly hewn blocks of local granite (median size : 30-40 cm), that are preserved to a height of five and six courses respectively (**figs. 443-444** ; **fig. 445**). Both its masonry technique and its structural characteristics closely resemble those of some of the earliest defensive walls of Kaulonia and Hipponion (cf. *Kaulonia I*, p. 23-25 [M9] and Cozzo Presepe 1983, p. 214-218)<sup>6</sup>. Even though Monte Palazzi's wall cannot yet be dated stratigraphically, a date for its construction is provided by the ceramic evidence from the archaeological layers immediately inside the perimeter, which include at least one kylix rim and numerous fragments of miniature vessels datable to the late 6th century B.C., as well as fragments of *skyphoi* with offset rim and sharply

Survey), Jeffrey E. Levy, Prof. Michael Kennedy (GIS Specialists), prof. David p. Moecher (Earth and Environmental Sciences) of the University of Kentucky, dr. Paolo Mazzaglia (Field Architect), and James R. Jansson, former Lieutenant, USNR, Air Wing Intelligence Officer, Attack Carrier Air Wing Eleven, provided invaluable assistance for the preparation of this essay.

6 See Aumüller (T.) – Die Stadtmauern von Hipponium. Ergebnisse der Bauforschung am Nordostflügel der griechischen Stadtmauern von Vibo Valentia. *MDAI* (R), 101, 1994, p. 250-252, pl. 92, and (for the *emplekton* technique) Sconfienza (R.) – *Architettura militare in Magna Grecia fra il IV secolo a.C. e l'età ellenistica*. *Orizzonti. Rassegna di Archeologia* 4, 2003, p. 178-179.

## Monte Palazzi

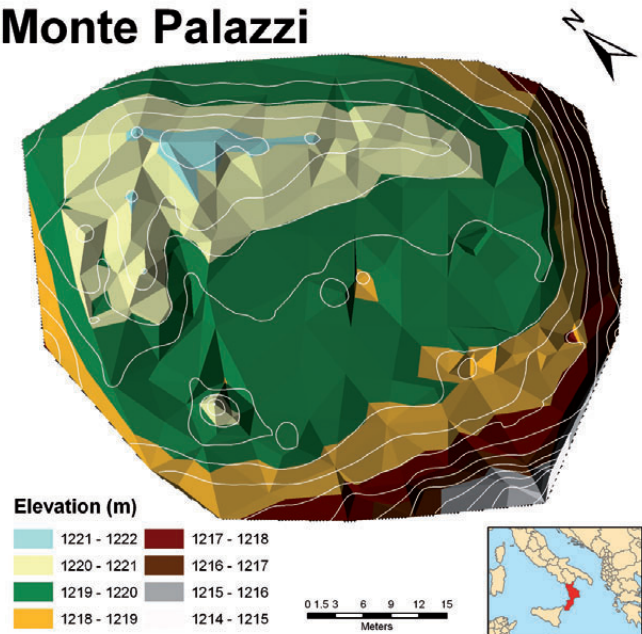


Fig. 442. DEM map of Monte Palazzi (after Kennedy (M.) – *Introducing Geographic. Information Systems with ArcGIS*. Second Edition, Hoboken, NJ, 2009.

carinated shoulder and Locrian transport amphorae with rims 'a cuscinetto rigonfio', datable between 500-450 B.C. (Knapp *et al.* 2007, p. 503-507). Some diagnostic fragments of miniature ceramics were found directly upon the bedrock. In addition, several fragments of late archaic Ionic cups (**fig. 447a-b**) and of skyphoid cups come from the lowest levels of a sondage made at the southern end of the site, which has also yielded a small,





Fig. 443. Monte Palazzi. The northeastern perimeter wall at the end of the 2007 field season.



Fig. 444. Monte Palazzi. The outer face of the northeastern perimeter wall at the end of the 2007 field season.

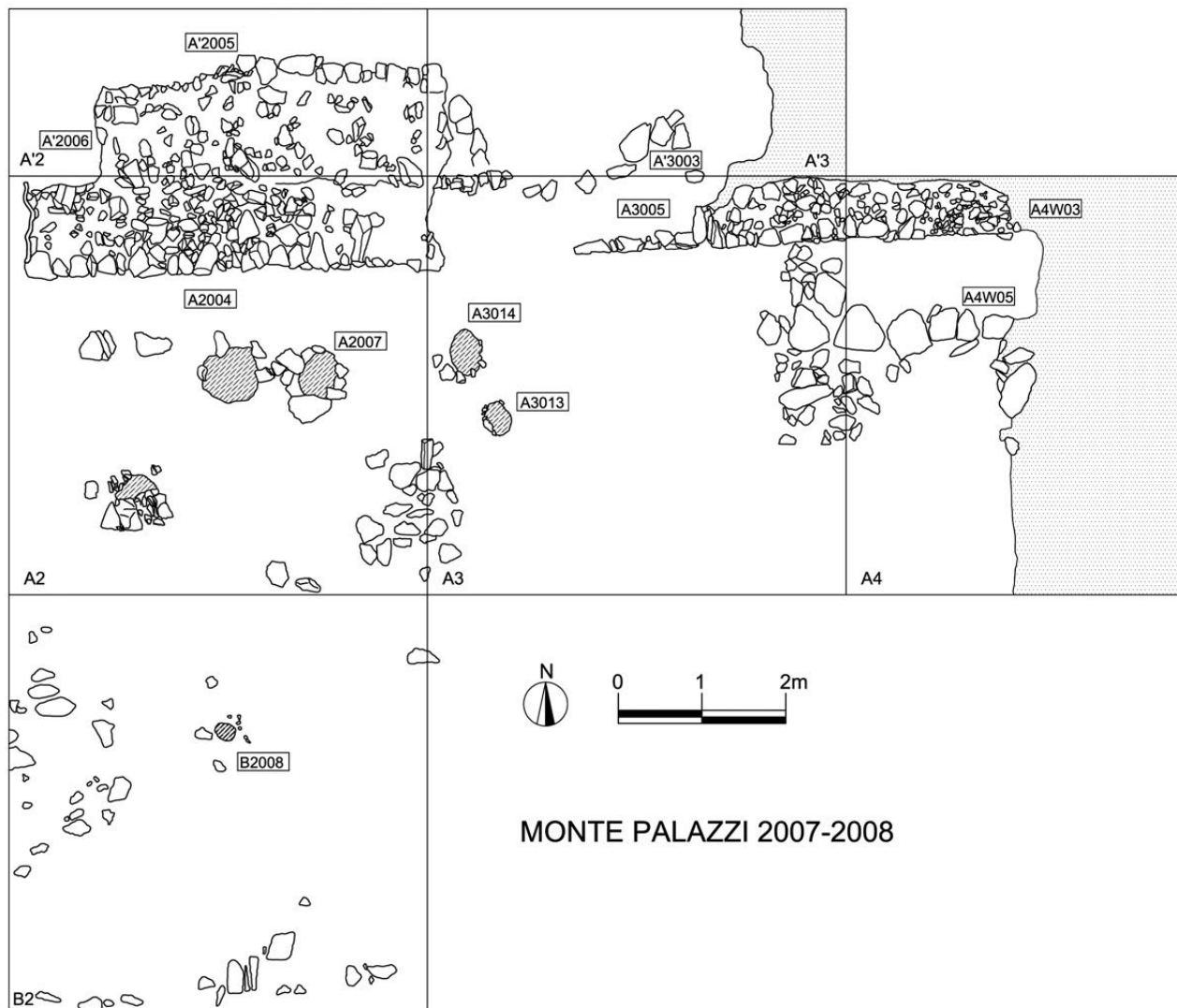


Fig. 445... Monte Palazzi. Architectural plan of the excavated northern sector (drawing by Paolo Mazzaglia).

two-edged socketed cast bronze arrowhead with side spur of a type found elsewhere in Calabria in 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century contexts (**fig. 449a**)<sup>7</sup>. Despite the unevenness of the cultural deposit, which appears to be shallower in the northern sector of the site and may have been compromised by human action and floralturbation, horizontal analysis of the ceramic assemblage has shown that late 6<sup>th</sup> / early 5<sup>th</sup> century pottery is distributed across the compound<sup>8</sup>. This further suggests that the perimeter wall was erected at the beginning, or in the first decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

The ubiquitous and massive presence of Locrian amphorae with distinctive rims 'a cuscinetto rigonfio' and 'a mandorla', representing distinctive archaeological hallmarks (*Locri Epizefiri* IV, p. 208-214), attests to the cultural and political identity of the Greek settlers from early on<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, an unusually high concentration of miniature ceramics (including *kotylai*, *chytrai*, and an *olpe* : cf. Carter 1998, p. 691 and 729 ; *Kaulonía I*, p. 325, n. 81 ; *Kaulonía II*, p. 525, no. 125 ; La Torre 2001, p. 62-63 ; Leone 1998, p. 126-127), and scant fragments of mold-made terracotta figurines, were found near two ephemeral pits. These contained remains of burnt cereals and olives, suggesting that some form of ritual activity may have taken place inside the wall (**fig. 445**, loci A3013, A3014). At least one miniature *kotyle* base was associated with one of the pits, that had been cut into the bedrock (**fig. 447c**). While this evidence is still tentative, it recalls that of late archaic *escharai* from Siris-Herakleia and S. Nicola di Albanella (Poseidonia), which yielded organic offerings possibly linked to the cult of chthonian deities<sup>10</sup>. Ritual activity is also attested at Serro di Tavola and San Salvatore, and

may be related to the Greeks' engagement with each mountaintop and its natural environment<sup>11</sup>.

Since another wall measuring at least 2,5 m in thickness was located in 2008 at a distance of 25 m from, and running parallel to the northeastern wall, the complex may have had a rectangular plan covering an area of at least 1200 m<sup>2</sup>. Its dimensions are akin to those of the forts at Serro di Tavola (over 2200 m<sup>2</sup> in the original plan ; c. 1120 m<sup>2</sup> after remodeling) and San Salvatore (1015 m<sup>2</sup>). Large cut blocks of granite lying on the southwestern and northwestern flanks of the summit may be consistent with the presence of a tower, an architectural feature seemingly shared by the other forts (Brizzi and Costamagna in this volume ; San Salvatore 2007) and by the Italic fortification built at Palazzo, on the rim of the Petrace River Basin (elevation : 1040 m ; see **fig. 441**), between 310-290 B.C. (Brizzi 2008 ; cf. Cozzo Presepe 1983, p. 244-251). A tower would have been used for both sighting and signaling, as well as for defensive purposes (Van de Maele 1992, p. 103 ; Brizzi 2008, p. 469, n. 17)<sup>12</sup>. Even if the summit of Monte Palazzi does not command a view of the Locrian χώρα, it is clearly visible from nearby Monte Gremi (elevation : 1241 m), whose southwestern ridge could be seen from Locri Epizephyrii.

Additional reasons explain why Monte Palazzi was fortified shortly after 500 B.C.<sup>13</sup> A state of warfare existed between Locri and Kroton in the first decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, as shown by the inscription on the bronze shield dedicated at Olympia by the Greeks of Hipponion to celebrate a victory over the Krotoniatai in 475 B.C.<sup>14</sup> The establishment of this outpost in the

7 Cf. Cozzo Presepe 1983, p. 230 ; Papadopoulos (J.K.) – La Dea di Sibari e il Santuario ritrovato. The Archaic votive metal objects (*Bollettino d'Arte Suppl.*), Roma, 2003, p. 63-64, no. 167. Similar arrowheads from the site of San Salvatore (destroyed in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) provide a terminus ante quem for the specimen from Monte Palazzi : see *San Salvatore* 2007, under : Classical Greek artifact gallery.

8 Cf. Hill (M.E. Jr.) – Spatial Analysis. In : Logan (B.) ed., *Prehistoric Settlement of the Lower Missouri Uplands. The View from DB Ridge Fort Leavenworth, Kansas* (University of Kansas Museum of Anthropology Project Report Series No. 98), Kansas City, MO, 1998, p. 254-300.

9 Also see Barra Bagnasco (M.), Casoli (A.), Chiari (G.), Compagnoni (R.), Davit (P.), Mirti (P.) – Mineralogical and chemical composition of transport amphorae excavated at Locri Epizephiri (southern Italy). *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 2, 2001, p. 229-239.

10 See Leone 1998, p. 29 and Otto (B.) – Il santuario sorgivo di Siris-Herakleia nell'odierno Comune di Policoro. In : Nava (M.L.), Osanna (M.) eds., *Lo spazio del rito. Santuari e culti in Italia meridionale tra Indigeni e Greci. Atti delle giornate di studio (Matera, 28 e 29 giugno 2002)*. Bari, 2005, p. 7-11, 14-15.

11 Cf. Franzoni (C.) – L'ambiente naturale. In : Settis (S.) ed., *I Greci, IV. Torino*, 2002, p. 225-229 ; Rocchi (M.) – Contesto naturale e religione. In : Rocchi (M.), Xella (P.) eds., *Archeologia e religione. Atti del I Colloquio del "Gruppo di contatto per lo studio delle religioni mediterranee" Roma-CNR 15 dicembre 2003*. Verona, 2006, p. 18-23 ; Walsh (K.), Richer (S.), with a contribution from de Beaulieu (J.L.) – Attitudes to altitude : changing meanings and perceptions within a 'marginal' Alpine landscape – the integration of palaeoecological and archaeological data in a high-altitude landscape in the French Alps. *World Archaeology*, 38, 2006, espec. p. 447-451.

12 See also Fossey (J.M.) – The Development of Some Defensive Networks in Eastern Central Greece During the Classical Period. In : *Fortificationes Antiquae*, p. 112. Cf. Bashshur (R.L.), Shannon (G.W.) – *History of Telemedicine. Evolution, Context, and Transformation*. New Rochelle, NY, 2009, p. 27-30.

13 The remarks by Tréziny (H.) – Les fortifications archaïques dans le monde grec colonial d'Occident. In : *Guerra e pace in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo antico (VIII-III sec. a.C.)*. Arte, prassi e teoria della pace e della guerra I. Pisa, 2006, p. 261, n. 41, seem especially at propos with regards to a military outpost.

14 Cf. Paoletti (M.) – Rosarno. In : Nenci (G.), Vallet (G.) eds., *BTCGI* 17, 2001, p. 2-3 ; La Torre 2001, p. 66-69 ; *Kaulonía II*, p. 325-326.



Locrian eschatia, a liminal zone on the outskirts of the territories of Kaulonia, Medma, and Hipponion, would have ensured the protection of farmland in the adjacent Torbido River Valley. This had become a single economic enclave under Locrian control by the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (cf. Falcone 2009, p. 53, 61-64, 73, 77, 99-101). Positioned to the north of the Torbido, a military installation on Monte Palazzi would have guarded the main overland route to the Locrian sub-colonies of Hipponion and Medma<sup>15</sup>. Although the fort is 28 km. away from Locri, it probably could have been resupplied from the city and from rural settlements in the hinterland in less than a day<sup>16</sup>. Its strategic importance must have increased during the Peloponnesian War, when the Locrians faced attacks on multiple fronts, and especially in 422 B.C., when they were embroiled in a war against Medma and Hipponion (Thucyd. 5.5.3).

The existence of a *φρούριον* on Monte Gallo (elevation: 780 m), 11 km. to the east of Monte Palazzi, deeply within the territory of Kaulonia, also deserves attention. Surface finds from this outpost also include late archaic and 5<sup>th</sup> century ceramics (Knapp *et al.* 2007, p. 501). Its location on the left bank of the Allaro strongly indicates that this river, rather than the Torbido, marked the northern boundary of the Locrian *χώρα* and should therefore be identified with the ancient Sagra (Strabo 6.1.10). Since Kaulonia does not seem to have lost any territory to Locri as a consequence of Kroton's defeat at the battle of the Sagra River (c. 550 B.C.), the frontier between these two cities presumably remained

unchanged until the destruction of Kaulonia by Dionysius I in 389 B.C. (*Kaulonia II*, p. 185 and 325). The forts on Monte Palazzi and Monte Gallo would have confronted each other on opposite sides of the border in a pattern resembling that of the Athenian and Megarian defensive networks (cf. Van de Maele 1992, p. 105). The Locrians may also have established (or perhaps taken over) an outpost near Palazzo<sup>17</sup>, thus securing both the northern and northeastern flanks of their territory (fig. 441). By 500 B.C. a Locrian sphere of influence appears to have reached all the way to the Tyrrhenian Sea from Hipponion to Metauros and to have included much of the Petrace River Basin to the east of the Castellace terrace, which is believed to have been the boundary with the *χώρα* of Rhegion until the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>18</sup>. In contrast, the fort at San Salvatore, located above and to the west of the headwaters of the Fiumara di Palizzi, may plausibly have belonged to Rhegion. Its position at 1260 m. above sea level (the highest yet for a mountain fort in Magna Graecia), overlooking the southern *chora* of Locri, would have guarded a potential Locrian invasion route up the valley of the Fiumara Laverde<sup>19</sup>.

Even though the internal organization of our fort cannot yet be elucidated, finds of fragmentary terracotta roof tiles and the large percentage of cooking ware in the ceramic assemblage (over 25 %; see fig. 446 and fig. 448b-c), representing at least 10 % of the estimated area of the site, corroborate the possibility that it was occupied all-year round, with no seasonal ruptures. Some sherds bear fragmentary graffiti (fig. 447f). The high frequency of fineware associated with wine drinking (particularly skyphoi) is especially noteworthy. Both these finewares, which have close parallels at Locri and Kaulonia (fig. 447e-ee), and the quantity of Locrian amphorae, as well as the find of two bronze coins of Syracuse with Head of Athena / Hippocamp, minted between 405-367 B.C., and of a bronze issue

15 A military installation built at the Croceferrata Pass in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century had a similar function: see Cataldo (V.) – Una costruzione militare a Croceferrata del 1772. *Rogerius*, 7, luglio-dicembre 2004, p. 5-11. Medma could be reached less circuitously from Locri via the Passo del Mercante (elevation: 952 m), where a WWII pillbox still stands today. An isthmus route going through this pass was frequented since prehistory, according to Costabile (F.) – La prima stazione neolitica stentinelliana in Calabria: Prestarona in Comune di Canolo. Relazione preliminare. In: Costabile (F.) – *Enigmi delle civiltà antiche dal Mediterraneo al Nilo*, I. Reggio Calabria, 2007, p. 19-28.

16 The *φρούρια* of S. Maria del Casale and Cozzo Presepe lie at c. 18 and c. 15 km. respectively from Metapontum: see Muggia 2000, p. 227-228, 232. In the early 1900s it took six hours to travel on muleback from Caulonia or Focà to Fabrizia (c. 6 km northeast of Monte Palazzi), a distance of c. 15 or 20 km, according to Douglas (N.) – *Old Calabria*. New York, 1928, p. 398. I owe this reference to James R. Jansson. Cf. McBride (W.S.), McBride (K.A.) – Frontier Forts of western Virginia: Their role within historical and contemporary landscapes. *Augusta Historical Bulletin*, 42, 2006, p. 19: on the American Frontier, "The distance between forts varied with population density, areas of cleared land, and exposure to danger. The Colony of Virginia's official French and Indian War "Line of Forts" were placed every fifteen to twenty-six miles, but there were also private forts spaced between these. In the Greenbrier Valley, forts were located three to ten miles apart during the Revolution."

17 The ceramic finds from Palazzo comprise fragments of Ionic cups of the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., one of which is inscribed in the Chalcidian alphabet: see Brizzi 2008, p. 470. I am grateful to dr. Liliana Costamagna for sharing the results of her research prior to the publication of this essay.

18 Cf. Sabbione (C.) – Le testimonianze di Metauros a Gioia Tauro. In: *Stretto di Messina*, p. 245-251; Carafa (P.) – Fattorie e ville: il versante calabro. *Ibid.*, p. 390-394; Parra (M.C.) – I culti dello Stretto: Reggio e il suo territorio. *Ibid.*, p. 429-431; Costamagna (L.) – Il territorio. In: Costamagna (L.), Visonà (P.) eds., *Oppido Mamertina (Calabria, Italia). Ricerche archeologiche nel territorio e in contrada Mella*. Roma, 1999, p. 252-254; Redfield (J.M.) – *The Locrian Maidens. Love and Death in Greek Italy*. Princeton, NJ, 2003, p. 223-225; Mercuri 2004, p. 281-283; Greco 2005, p. 221.

19 The San Salvatore excavations have yielded a late 6<sup>th</sup> century cup bearing the name Σ[I]MON written in the Chalcidian alphabet: see *San Salvatore 2007*.

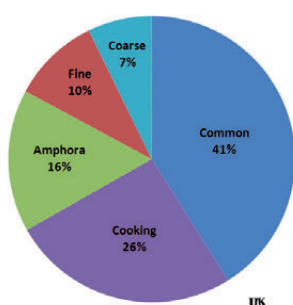
Monte Palazzi Ceramic Assemblage  
2005-2008

Fig. 446. Monte Palazzi ceramic assemblage (after 2005, 2007-2008 excavations). Total weight : 80483.5 g ; (common ware : 33050 g ; cooking ware : 20702.5 g ; amphora : 12953 g ; fine ware : 7946 g ; coarse ware : 5832 g).

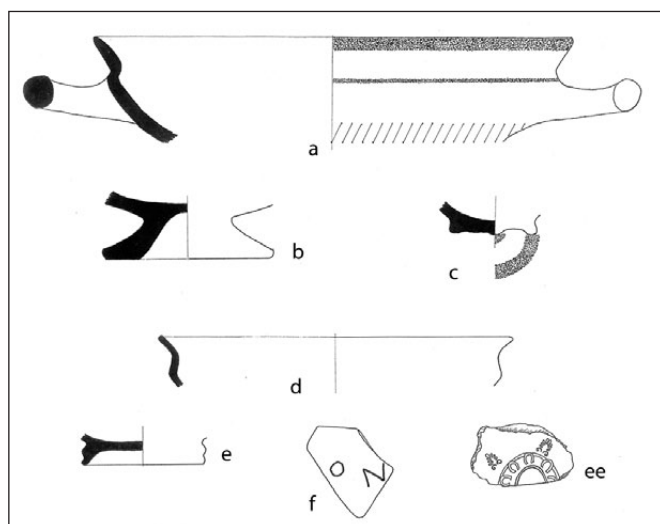


Fig. 447. Fine wares from Monte Palazzi. a- Rim and body sherd of Ionic cup, inv. 145331. b- Base of Ionic cup, inv. 145297. Cf. *Locri Epizefiri* IV, p. 99, no. 28 (550-500 B.C.). c- Asymmetrical base of miniature *kotyle*, inv. 145266. d- Fragment of *kylix* with offset rim and carinated body, inv. 145284. Cf. *Locri Epizefiri* IV, p. 100, no. 34 (525-500 B.C.). e- Black gloss stepped base of cup or bowl with stamped floor. inv. 145255. Cf. *Kaulonia I*, p. 57, nos. 141-142 and *Kaulonia I*, p. 283, no. 268d (late 5th - early 4th centuries B.C.). f- Fragment of unslipped vessel with graffito, inv. 145344 (drawings by Jennifer E. Knapp).

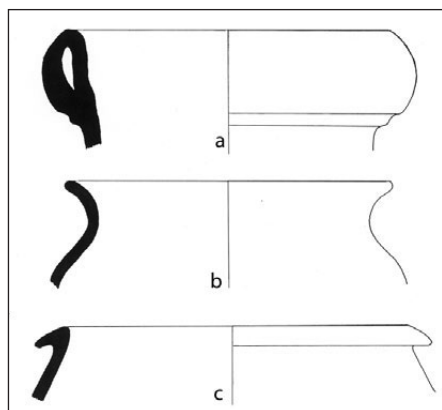


Fig. 448. Coarse ware from Monte Palazzi. a- Amphora rim 'a cuscinetto rigonfio e camera d'aria', inv. 145310. Cf. *Locri Epizefiri* IV, p. 232, no. 190 (500-450 B.C.). b- Rim of *chytra*, inv. 145336. Cf. *Locri Epizefiri* IV, p. 252, no. 247. c- Rim of *chytra*, inv. 145293. Cf. Carter 1998, p. 726 (T 12-6).

of Locri dating to the period of Pyrrhus (**fig. 450**)<sup>20</sup>, attest to the presence of Locrian Greeks until the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. Palaeobotanical and faunal analyses indicate that their diet was based upon the Mediterranean triad (plus legumes) and included Sheep / Goat and Pig (cf. Carter 2006, p. 29-31, 78-80)<sup>21</sup>. It is still uncertain whether the fort was eventually abandoned or destroyed, although finds of broken bronze and iron projectile points (**fig. 449b**) suggest that it may have come under attack, perhaps by encroaching Brettians<sup>22</sup>. The latest materials recovered thus far consist of fragments of a thinwall vessel, which may be indicative of a sporadic frequentation of the mountaintop in the late Republican period.

Yet, its military function notwithstanding, the Locrian outpost on Monte Palazzi must also have been tied to the exploitation of important natural resources. Based on reflected light microscopy, backscattered electron imaging, energy dispersive analysis, and x-ray diffraction, a sample of slag from the 2008 excavations was confirmed to consist of metallic iron with an oxidized rind consisting of hematite and goethite<sup>23</sup>. This raises the possibility that some form of metallurgical activity took place in the vicinity of the fort, and that the Locrians controlled sources of iron ore<sup>24</sup>. Moreover, there is evidence that stone very similar to a garnet chlorite schist from a nearby quarry was worked at the site<sup>25</sup>.

20 See Visonà (P.) – Greek Coinage in Dalmatia and Trans-Adriatic Relations in the 4<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. *Chiron*, 37, 2007, p. 481 ; Rutter (N.K.) ed. – *Historia Numorum Italy*. London, 2001, p. 183, no. 2405.

21 I wish to thank dr. Lanfredo Castelletti (Cooperativa di Ricerche Archeobiologiche ARCO, Como) and Bruce L. Manzano (University of Kentucky) for these data.

22 A bronze arrowhead from Monte Palazzi (still containing a fragment of the original wooden shaft) is comparable to 4<sup>th</sup> century examples from Locri and Starigrad (Hvar) : cf. *Locri Epizefiri* IV, p. 367, no. 404 ; Jeličić-Radonić (J.) – The foundation of the Greek city of Pharos on the island of Hvar. In : Sanader (M.), Šegvić (M.), Mirnik (I.) eds. – *Illyrica antiqua ob honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević*. Zagreb, 2005, p. 318, fig. 2.

23 I am grateful to prof. David p. Moecher (University of Kentucky) for this preliminary information.

24 Cf. Costabile (F.) – Redditi, terre e fonti finanziarie dell'Olympieion: tribute, imposte e rapporti contrattuali. In : Costabile (F.) ed., *Polis ed Olympieion a Locri Epizefiri*. Soveria Mannelli, 1992, p. 169 ; Cuteri (F.A.) – Risorse minerarie ed attività metallurgica nella Sila Piccola meridionale e nella Pre-Sila sul versante tirrenico. Prime osservazioni. In : De Sensi Sestito (G.) ed., *Tra l'Amato e il Savuto II. Studi sul Lametino antico e tardo-antico*. Soveria Mannelli, 1999, p. 293-317.

25 The mineral composition of this stone corresponds very closely to that presented by Santi (P.), Renzulli (A.), Antonelli (F.), Alberti (A.) – Classification and provenance of soapstones and garnet chlorite schist artifacts from Medieval sites of Tuscany (Central Italy) : insights into the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic trade. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 36, 2009, p. 2498, Table 4. I owe this datum to Henry E. Francis (University of Kentucky).



Fig. 449a Monte Palazzi. Fragmented two-edged, socketed cast bronze arrowhead with side spur, inv. 145354. L. 2,16 cm ; width 0,95 cm (6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.)

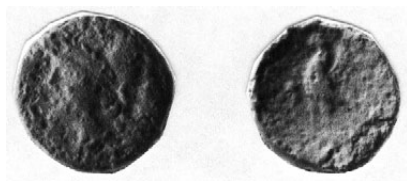


Fig. 450 Bronze coin of Locri, inv. 145350. Obverse : Head of Athena left. Reverse : Eagle left on thunderbolt, wings open ; to left, *cornucopiae*. Diam. 18,4 mm ; 120° ; 4,0 g (before cleaning). Cf. Troxell (H.A.) ed., *SNG ANS Part 3, Bruttium – Sicily 1 : Abacaenum-Eryx*, New York, 1975, no. 553 (c. 280-270 B.C.). Scale 1:1.

To conclude : the investigations at Monte Palazzi cast light upon a mountain fort which may have played a pivotal role in the history of Locri's territorial expansion. Adapting to the rugged terrain of southern Calabria, and following a discernible pattern, both the Locrians and the Greeks of Rhegion and Kaulonia appear to have established a system of fortifications across natural and political boundaries. Fort archaeology – combining survey, excavation, remote sensing, and palaeoenvironmental research – is thus called for as a new tool for a reconstruction of the changing configuration of their χώραι from the archaic to the hellenistic period.

Fig. 449b Three-sided cast bronze arrowhead fragmented at base, inv. 145353. L. 1,5 cm ; width at base 0,83 (4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.).

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